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# COMMANDERS DIGEST

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# President Stresses Value of Military Strength; Presents Credo for Nation's Defenders

"The American Defense Establishment should never be a sacred cow, but on the other hand the American military should never be anybody's scapegoat."

This was the way President Nixon described the defense establishment and at the same time presented a credo for defenders of the nation at commencement exercises at the Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colo., June 4.

The President told the graduating cadets, "You are entering the military service of your country when the nation's potential adversaries abroad were never stronger and when your critics at home have never been more numerous."

Following is the President's address at the Air Force Academy:

General Moorman, Governor Love, Senator Allott, Senator Dominick, General McConnell, Secretary Seamans, all the Distinguished Guests on the Platform, Members of the Graduating Class, and this great audience here in Falcon Stadium:

For each of you, and your parents, and your countrymen this is a moment of quiet pride.

After years of study and training, you have earned the right to be saluted.

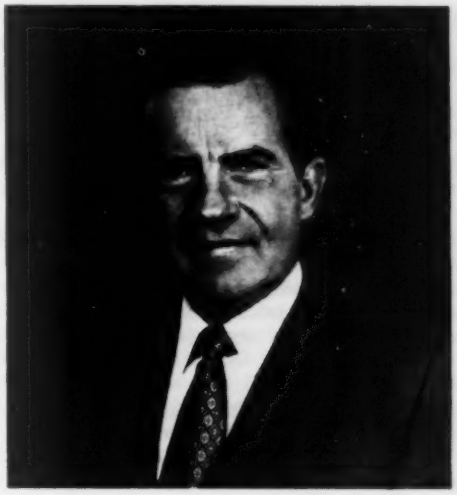
But you are beginning your careers at a difficult time in military life.

On a fighting front, you are asked to be ready to make unlimited sacrifice in a limited war.

On the home front, you are under attack from those who question the need for a strong national defense, and indeed see a danger in the power of the defenders.

You are entering the military service of your country when the nation's potential adversaries abroad have never been stronger and when your critics at home have never been more numerous.

It is open season on the armed forces. Military programs are ridiculed as needless if not deliberate waste. The military profession is derided in some of the so-called best circles of America. Patriotism is considered by some to be a backward fetish of the uneducated and unsophisticated. Nationalism is hailed and applauded as a panacea for the ills of every nation — except the United States of America.



President Nixon

***"I believe that America is not about to become a garrison state, or a welfare state, or a police state — simply because the American people will defend our values from those forces external or internal that would challenge or erode them."***

This paradox of military power is a symptom of something far deeper that is stirring in our body politic. It goes beyond the dissent about the war in Vietnam. It

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# President Stresses Value of Military Strength

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goes behind the fear of the "Military Industrial Complex."

The underlying questions are really these:

What is America's role in the world? What are the responsibilities of a great nation toward protecting freedom beyond its shores? Can we ever be left in peace if we do not actively assume the burden of keeping the peace?

When great questions are posed, fundamental differences of opinion come into focus. It serves no purpose to gloss over these differences, or to try to pretend that they are mere matters of degree.

Because there is one school of thought that holds that the road to understanding with the Soviet Union and Communist China lies through a downgrading of our own alliances and what amounts to a unilateral reduction of our own arms — in order to demonstrate our "good faith."

They believe that we can be conciliatory and accommodating only if we do not have the strength to be otherwise, they believe America will be able to deal with the possibility of peace only when we are unable to cope with the threat of war.

Those who think that way have grown weary of the weight of free world leadership that fell uopn us in the wake of World II. They argue that we, the United States, are as much responsible for the tension in the world as the adversary we face.

They assert that the United States is blocking the road to peace by maintaining its military strength at home and its defenses abroad. If we would only reduce our forces, they contend, tensions would disappear and the changes for peace would brighten.

America's powerful military presence on the world scene, they believe, makes peace abroad improbable and peace at home impossible.

Now we should never underestimate the appeal of the isolationist school of thought. Their slogans are simplistic and powerful: "charity begins at home. Let's first solve our probablems at home and then we can deal with the problems of the world."

This simple formula touches a responsive chord with many an over-burdened taxpayer. It would be easy, easy for the President of the United States to buy some popularity by going along with the new isolationists. But I submit to you that it would be disastrous for our Nation and the world.

I hold a totally different view of the world, and I come to a different conclusion about the direction America must take.

Imagine for a moment, if you will, what would happen to this world if America were to become a dropout in assuming the responsibility for defending peace and freedom in the world. As every world leader knows, and as even the most outspoken critics of America would admit, the rest of the world would live in terror.

Because if America were to turn its back on the world, there would be peace that would settle over this planet, but it would be the kind of peace that suffocated freedom in Czechoslovakia.

The danger to us has changed, but it has not vanished. We must revitalize our alliances, not abandon them.

We must rule out unilateral disarmament, because in the real world it wouldn't work. If we pursue arms control as an end in itself, we will not achieve our end. The adversaries in the world are not in conflict because they

***"The American Defense Establishment should never be a sacred cow, but on the other hand, the American Military should never be anybody's scapegoat."***

are armed. They are armed because they are in conflict, and have not yet learned peaceful ways to resolve their conflicting national interests.

The aggressors of this world are not going to give the United States a period of grace in which to put our domestic house in order — just as the crises within our society cannot be put on a back burner until we resolve the problem of Vietnam.

The most successful solutions that we can possibly imagine for our domestic programs will be meaningless if we are not around to enjoy them. Nor can we conduct a successful peace policy abroad if our society is at war with itself at home.

There is no advancement for Americans at home in a retreat from the problems of the world. I say that America has a vital national interest in world stability, and no other nation can uphold that interest for us.

We stand at a crossroad in our history. We shall reaffirm our destiny for greatness or we shall choose instead to withdraw into ourselves. The choice will affect far more than our foreign policy; it will determine the quality of our lives.

A nation needs many qualities, but it needs faith and confidence above all. Skeptics do not build societies; the idealists are the builders. Only societies that believe in themselves can rise to their challenges. Let us not, then, post a false choice between meeting our responsibilities abroad and meeting the needs of our people at home. We shall meet both or we shall meet neither.

That is why my disagreement with the skeptics and the isolationists is fundamental. They have lost the vision indispensable to great leadership. They observe the problems that confront us; they measure our resources

and then they despair. When the first vessels set out from Europe for the new world these men would have weighed the risks and they would have stayed behind. When the colonists on the Eastern Seaboard started across the Appalachians to the unknown reaches of the Ohio Valley, these men would have counted the costs and they would have stayed behind.

Our current exploration of space makes the point vividly: Here is testimony to man's vision and to man's courage. The journey of the astronauts is more than a technical achievement: It is a reaching-out of the human spirit. It lifts our sights; it demonstrates that magnificent conceptions can be made real. They inspire us and at the same time they teach us true humility. What could bring home to us more the limitations of the human scale than the hauntingly beautiful picture of our earth seen from the moon?

When the first man stands on the moon next month every American will stand taller because of what he has done, and we should be proud of this magnificent achievement.

We will know then that every man achieves his own greatness by reaching out beyond himself, and so it is with nations. When a nation believes in itself—as Athenians did in their Golden Age, as Italians did in the Renaissance—that nation can perform miracles. Only when a nation means something to itself can it mean something to others.

That is why I believe a resurgence of American idealism can bring about a modern miracle—and that modern miracle is a world order of peace and justice.

I know that every member of this graduating class is, in that sense, an idealist.

However, I must warn you that in the years to come you may hear your commitment to the American responsibility in the world derided as a form of militarism. It is important that you recognize that strawman issue for what it is, the outward sign of a desire by some to turn American inward and to have America turn away from greatness. I am not speaking about those responsible critics who reveal waste and inefficiency in our defense establishment, who demand clear answers on procurement policies, who want to make sure new weapons systems will truly add to our defense. On the contrary, you should be in the vanguard of that movement. Nor do I speak of those with sharp eyes and sharp pencils who are examining our post-Vietnam planning with other pressing national priorities in mind. I count myself as one of those.

But as your Commander-in-Chief, I want to relay to you as future officers in our armed forces some of my thoughts on some of these great issues of national moment.

I worked closely with President Eisenhower for eight years. I know what he meant when he said " . . . We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex."

Many people conveniently forget that he followed that warning with another: "We must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

We sometimes forget that in that same farewell address, President Eisenhower spoke of the need for National Security. He said "A vital element in keeping the peace is our Military Establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction."

I say to you, my fellow Americans, let us never forget those wise words of one of America's Greatest Leaders.

The American Defense Establishment should never be a sacred cow, but on the other hand, the American Military should never be anybody's scapegoat.

America's wealth is enormous, but it is not limitless. Every dollar available in the Federal Government has been taken from the American people in taxes. A responsible government has a duty to be prudent when it spends the people's money. There is no more justification for wasting money on unnecessary military hardware than there is for wasting it on unwarranted social programs.

There can be no question that we should not spend unnecessarily for defense. But we must also not confuse our priorities.

The question, I submit, in defense spending is a very simple one: "How much is necessary?" The President of the United States is the man charged with making that judgment. After a complete review of our Foreign and Defense Policies I have submitted requests to the Congress for Military Appropriations—some of these are admittedly controversial. These requests represent the minimum I believe essential for the United States to meet its current and long-range obligations to itself and to the free world. I have asked only for those programs and those expenditures that I believe are necessary to guarantee the security of this country and to honor our obligations. I will bear the responsibility for those judgments. I do not consider my recommendations infallible. But if I have made a mistake, I pray that it is on the side of too much and not too little. If we do too much it will cost us our money. If we do too little, it may cost us our lives.

Mistakes in military policy today can be irretrievable. Time lost in this age of science can never be regained. America had months in order to prepare and to catch up in order to wage World War I. We had months and even years to catch up so we could play a role in winning World War II. When a war can be decided in twenty minutes, the nation that is behind will have no time to catch up.

I say: Let America never fall behind in maintaining the defenses necessary for the strength of this nation.

I have no choice in my decisions but to come down on the side of security because history has dealt harshly with those nations who have taken the other course.

So, in that spirit, to the members of this graduating class, let me offer this credo for the defenders of our nation:

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# President Shares 'Bond' With Those In Uniform

## Credo for Nation's Defenders

**I believe** that we must balance our need for survival as a nation with our need for survival as a people. Americans, soldiers and civilians, must remember that defense is not an end in itself — it is a way of holding fast to the deepest values known to civilized men.

**I believe** that our defense establishment will remain the servants of our national policy of bringing about peace in the world, and that those in any way connected with the military must scrupulously avoid even the appearance of becoming the master of that policy.

**I believe** that every man in uniform is a citizen first and a serviceman second, and that we must resist any attempt to isolate or separate the defenders from the defended. So you can see that in this regard, those who agitate for the removal of the ROTC from college campuses contribute to an unwanted militarism.

**I believe** that the basis for decisions on defense spending must be "what do we do, what do we need for our security" and not "what will this mean for business and employment." The Defense Department must never be considered as a modern WPA. There are far better ways for government to help insure a sound prosperity and high employment.

**I feel** that moderation has a moral significance only in those who have another choice. The weak can only plead. Magnanimity and restraint gain moral meaning coming from the strong.

**I believe** that defense decisions must be made on the hard realities of the offensive capabilities of our potential adversaries, and not on the fervent hopes about their intentions. With Thomas Jefferson, we can prefer "the flatteries of hope" to the gloom of despair, but we cannot survive in the real world if we plan our defense in a dream world.

**I believe** we must take risks for peace — but calculated risks, not foolish risks. We shall not trade our defenses for a disarming smile or charming words. We are prepared for new initiatives in the control of arms in the context of other specific moves to reduce tensions around the world.

**I believe** that America is not going to become a garrison state, or a welfare state, or a police state—simply because the American people will defend our values from those forces external or internal that would challenge or erode them.

**And I believe** this above all: That this nation shall continue to be a source of world leadership, a source of freedom's strength, in creating a just world order that will bring an end to war.

***"I do not consider my recommendations infallible. But if I have made a mistake, I pray that it is on the side of too much and not too little."***

Members of the Graduating Class and your colleagues in the Academy, a President shares a special bond with the men and women in the Nation's Armed Forces. He feels that bond strongly at moments like these, facing all of you who have pledged your lives, your fortunes and your sacred honor to the service of your country. He feels that bond most strongly when he presents the Medal of Honor to an 8-year-old boy who will never see his father again. Because of that bond, let me say this to you:

In the past generation, since 1941, this nation has paid for 14 years of peace with 14 years of war. The American war dead of this generation in the two centuries of our history.

Perhaps this is why my generation is so determined to pass on a different legacy. We want to redeem that sacrifice. We want to be remembered, not as the generation that suffered in war, but as the generation that was tempered in its fire for a great purpose: to make the kind of peace that the next generation will be able to keep.

This is a challenge worthy of the idealism which I know motivates every man who will receive his diploma today.

I am proud to have served in the armed forces of this nation in a war which ended before the members of this class were born.

***"It is my deepest hope and my belief that each of you will be able to look back on your military career with pride, not because of the wars in which you have fought, but because of the peace and freedom which your service will make for America and the world."***

Chaplain James W. Kelly talks with U.S. servicemen in the Republic of Vietnam during inspection tour

# 'People Continue To Be Our Most Precious Resource'

*By Rear Admiral James W. Kelly — Chairman of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board, and Chief of Chaplains, United States Navy*

***"Groups exist solely for the therapy of the individual. Governments are considered to exist solely for the purpose of securing individual rights," Chaplain James W. Kelly told delegates to the first DOD-USO Working Group Meeting at the Pentagon, May 19.***

***Attending were representatives of the USO and member agencies, the military departments and Department of Defense.***

***Among those making presentations was Chaplain Kelly, who said:***

I am always happy to have the opportunity to speak on the subject of people in the Armed Forces, and of their welfare. These are times of accelerating change in almost every sphere of human activity. So much is happening and so many factors are being brought to bear upon every area of human thought that we are easily confused by it all. Unless we keep our most important values before us as working principles we run the risk of losing our sense of direction and the even greater risk of losing the values themselves.

One of the working principles to which we must cling tenaciously is that people continue to be our most precious resource, that they are important for themselves alone and not by reason of what they can accomplish. Human beings have an inherent value and an inherent dignity, they are not means to a mechanistic end; they have an intrinsic value which derives from their being ultimately precious in the sight of their creator.

I have been greatly encouraged in recent years by the fact that I hear more and more of our senior officers of the Armed Forces speaking such words as those, with increasing frequency, with clarity and conviction, and

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## U.S. Reassures Asian Leaders

# NEW FOCUS FOR SEATO

**"We shall not abandon in peace what we have fought for in war..."**

*In recent months some of our staunchest friends among Southeast Asian leaders have openly expressed fears that the United States might change its policy of commitment to Southeast Asia. Among these leaders are General Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, and Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman.*

*Speaking on March 19 to a group of American businessmen meeting in Bangkok, the Thai Foreign Minister said that in the United States "there have been talks about the disengagement, withdrawal, and termination of many forms of relationship between the U.S. and Asia. . . . We in this part of the world will have to put a question mark about your future policy and attitude."*

*On May 20, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization held its 14th ministerial meeting in Bangkok. In his opening remarks at the meeting U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers assured the Asian leaders that U.S. interest in Asia "is a permanent fixture of our foreign policy."*

*Following are excerpts from Mr. Rogers' statement of May 20 and from the Final Communique of the SEATO Ministerial Meeting, issued on May 21.*

Let me begin by stressing that the interest of the United States in Asia is not secondary to our interest in any other areas of the world. By reason of geography, resources, and common interests, the United States is a member of the Pacific community. That is why the U.S. is a member and a strong supporter of SEATO.

There have, of course, been profound changes in the trends of Asian affairs since the Pacific Charter was signed a decade and a half ago.

Those were dark days. Some governments in the area were insecure and unstable . . . Over all hung a contagious fear that totalitarian communism — thrusting outward from Mainland China — would become an irresistible political force in Asia.

### Changes in East Asia

Since SEATO was first established there has been an extraordinary reversal in outlook.

Governments are more stable — and more responsive to the will and the needs of their people. Cooperation has increased, as narrow nationalism has yielded to an emerging spirit of regionalism. Some of the most rapidly developing countries in the world today are found in East Asia.

These developments are still in an early stage and will have to be nourished carefully. But these are encouraging new trends . . . sustained by a new vitality which bespeaks the growing confidence of governments and peoples that they can, in fact, determine their own futures. Meanwhile, the once seemingly irreversible tide of Asian communism is being blocked by the rising will and courage of peoples to maintain their national independence.

SEATO cannot, of course, claim sole responsibility for these encouraging trends in Asian affairs.

But we have seen again and again in the post-war world — not just Asia but in Europe and elsewhere — that security comes first. If governments are to sponsor ambitious programs for economic development and social reform — if citizens are to contribute the support such programs require — the first requisite is a prevailing sense of national security.

Surely SEATO, and the assistance provided in connection with it, have helped to provide a credible sense of security in Asia. In this indirect but very real sense, the Pacific Charter can be considered as a precondition for the healthy developments now in progress.

This, in the broadest sense, is why my government has

so valued this organization over the years — and why it will continue to value it in the future.

## SEATO's Tasks in the Future

Institutions, of course, adapt to new conditions and new opportunities, and SEATO is no exception. We believe it would be a good idea to have a look together at future tasks for SEATO.

- One suggestion is that we should concentrate on turning the assets of the Organization toward countering subversion. We believe there may be merit in this — since the threat of externally-supported subversion is still an urgent one, and may be for years to come.
- Another suggestion is to consider the role of the Organization in the closely related field of economic development.

Meanwhile, SEATO is already well at work — as an Asian Security Organization — as a forum for political consultations among its members—as a sponsor of selected economic and technical and cultural projects.

## The U.S. Position

This is why the United States remains a loyal member and a steadfast supporter of SEATO.

At the same time, I must point out that my government faces difficult decisions about how to allocate available resources against many urgent claims. These competing interests—for both domestic and overseas purposes—must somehow be balanced and compromised and reconciled. But this does not alter the underlying goal.

We are dedicated at home to expanding individual freedoms, to better education, to equality of opportunity, to racial harmony, to improving the quality of life for all our people, most urgently in our crowded cities which suffer from the social and physical impacts of rapid urbanization and industrialization. These goals are enduring.

My country also has enduring goals abroad. We are dedicated to the resolution of conflict by peaceful means, to the principle of national independence and the free choice by peoples of their own forms of government and their own leaders.

## Allegiance to Asia

Our allegiance to these goals in Asia is firm. Our interest in the prosperity and well being of Asia and Asians is a permanent fixture of our foreign policy.

Our current position in Vietnam underscores this point. We want to achieve a peaceful settlement of a war that has cost everyone too much and lasted too long. But we believe that the people of South Vietnam should have the right to make their own decision about their own future without interference or pressure from any outside quarter.

When the war stops the immediate mission of our troops will be fulfilled. But our long-term goals . . . in Southeast Asia will remain.

We shall not abandon in peace what we have fought for in war — the peaceful evolution of Southeast Asia — playing its full and rightful part in an emerging, cooperative Pacific Community.

# SEATO COMMUNIQUE

**(Excerpts)**

## General Observations

*The Council agreed that the most significant development during the past year has been the prospects for peace in the area opened up by the Paris Meetings and by the determined efforts of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam in close consultation with their allies to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the Vietnam conflict.*

*The Council noted that economic and social progress had continued during the past year within the Treaty area. The Council agreed that this progress had been achieved mainly by the individual efforts of the countries in the region, and by the further strengthening of regional cooperation which reflects a growing consciousness of mutual interests. The Council also noted that this achievement had been made without sacrifice of human liberty and fundamental freedoms.*

*The Council noted that these political, economic and social advances would not have been possible without the shield which the Manila Treaty has helped to provide over the past 14 years.*

*The Council agreed that aggression, both overt and by subversion, infiltration and terrorism, instigated or supported by external Communist movements, remains a major threat to the peace and security of the area. The Council expressed its conviction that the threat in the Treaty area cannot be considered in isolation from problems of international peace and security, and that the outcome of the struggle now going on against such aggression in Southeast Asia will have profound effects throughout the world. The Council expressed its determination that this aggression must not be allowed to succeed.*

## The Organization

*The Council reaffirmed the importance which it attaches to the organization as a deterrent to Communist aggression and as a source of support to member nations in the area in countering Communist subversion.*

*The Council was convinced that greater emphasis should be placed on political consultations, counter-insurgency, and economic and cultural cooperation, to make the organization's role more effective and more responsive to the new Communist tactics being employed to undermine the stability and orderly progress of free societies.*

# 'People Continue To Be Our Most Precious Resource'

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with an unmistakeable echo of urgency. The sense of urgency with which they speak arises from what they see happening about them. They sense the danger of impersonalization which inevitably spins off from an accelerating technology. They are deeply concerned to preserve human values and to enhance the well-being of men and women of the Armed Forces. The end result is, that today we enjoy a wide-reaching concern for the physical, emotional and moral and spiritual well-being of military personnel which is unparalleled in the history of the Armed Forces of the world.

But nothing is ever simple and uncomplicated these days. "Unanticipated side effect" has become a familiar phrase in our day. The fact, and the fear, of impersonalization have given rise to a phenomenon in America which threatens our very existence. I am speaking of the great surge toward individualism. Groups exist solely for the therapy of the individual. Governments are considered to exist solely for the purpose of securing individual rights. For the moment, rights of the individual seem to have overshadowed responsibility for the common good. Individual conscience is for many the sole arbiter of ultimate right and wrong. And, sad as it may be, even patriotism is dubious and suspect today.

Happily, so far as I can tell, we in the Armed Forces have been able to maintain a satisfactory balance between individual and group values. I attribute this to the traditional concepts of mission and teamwork which are always kept before us, and to the appropriate use of authority. Authority, a clearly defined mission, the exercise of effective leadership, and teamwork, have kept the balance, and in so doing have sustained stable, high level morale among our people.

In recent years I have heard literally hundreds of tributes paid to the American youth in the military service. For four years now they have been tested in the crucible of combat and have acquitted themselves with honor. Their leaders have called them the finest soldiers, sailors, airmen, and coastguardsmen our Nation has ever produced. I, personally, have been amazed to witness their determination to be true to their trust. I have witnessed the gentle, humanitarian touch with which they have bound up the wounds of the Vietnamese people, the skill with which they have built homes and hospitals and schools, the generosity which has moved them to empty their pockets to fill the mouths of the hungry and clothe the backs of the needy. In all of this they have developed pride and a sense of satisfaction, essential ingredients of high morale.

Evidences of the sense of mission our people feel, and the state of morale they enjoy, came to me from an incident that took place in Vietnam. A reconnaissance patrol was operating deep in enemy territory. From the radio reports which they sent back to the operations officer at the command post it was apparent that they were misreading their map coordinates, and instead of being in jungle-covered mountains where they should be, the patrol was moving into a hazardous lowland area where they were certain to be seen, and probably destroyed, by the enemy. The operations officer, who was monitoring the action, chastized the patrol, sending the message: "What in the world are you people doing out there?" After a brief and thoughtful delay, from behind enemy lines, the patrol radioed back, "Why, saving the world for Democracy, of course." That is the sense of mission and the state of morale in the Armed Forces today.

But we are all aware of factors which tend to erode the serviceman's morale. We have all read, this last year, about the activities of new radicals entering the Armed Forces. The attempts to organize war-resister groups and servicemen's unions, the proliferation of underground newspapers some of which are published by military personnel. The establishment of off-base coffee houses which are supported and manned by anti-Vietnam or anti-military groups. All these things can in the long run have an eroding effect upon both the sense of mission and the degree of satisfaction one derives from pursuing it. While the number of servicemen involved in these activities is very small, and is likely to remain small, it would be a mistake to write such things off as insignificant. Some of the persons involved are infected by the illness of our times: irresponsible individualism. Others are motivated, no doubt, by a political philosophy with no regard at all for the individual, which seeks to undermine America's morale and reduce her resistance to the diseases of the spirit. Counteraction of this kind of subversion has been, and I am confident will continue to be, vigorous. But the cure must go deeper than surface symptoms. All public spirited Americans must seek to understand the illnesses which tend to infect us, and must attempt to interpret for our youth the dangers of our times and America's great promise for the future.

I see this as a challenge to chaplains of the Armed Forces who are professionally involved with the spiritual welfare of our people and with their patriotism as well. Personal liberty, individual value, human dignity, equal justice, the rule of law and not of men. These are achievable ideals of social order which have been revealed to man by God. So long as we pursue those ideals which we know are in accord with His will, we shall grow steadily stronger . . .

**COMMANDERS DIGEST**

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